LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921 Editor: R. Palme Dutt

BATTLE FOR JOBS ADVANCES

Les Allen: Tony Winter: Garfield Thomas

(Spokesmen for the unemployed in the North and in Wales)

★

BRITAIN'S HOUR OF TRUTH

The Editor

★

FOUNDRIES AND THE ECONOMY

Dave Lambert

★

Also: articles on U.S. Debts—China's Economy—Israel—Eden and the Nazis

FEBRUARY 1963

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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READERS' OUTLOOK

The Two-Legged Animal

IN THE 'AFFLUENT SOCIETY' they go in for affluent names for class realities. The sack has become 'redundancy', and is administered by 'humane' methods. They merely 'seek to effect necessary redeployment by natural wastage and by postponement of entry'. This jargon being interpreted, means chopping off the older worker and pushing him out into the twilight at 60. It means telling the school-leavers to 'keep their heads' and go back into desperately overcrowded schools, where their luckier school-fellows are already waiting for non-existent places at University and training college. It means paying off a long-service man with four weeks' 'severance pay', provided he goes quietly the same afternoon, which they assert is 'the more humane way'. To which the foreman with 38 years' service on the receiving end of this humanity, commented on the radio: 'They use the humane killer on four-legged animals; but it's coming to it when they use it on the two-legged animal.' The plain truth is that these workers are 'severed' from their livelihood at the point when it is most difficult to organise to defend jobs; and the deathly chill of a 'pool of employment' is calculated to give those still in work cold feet. The top men of the 'affluent society' no doubt suppose the rest will cheerfully stamp on the fingers of those clinging to the bottom rung. What kind of animals do they take us for? We are not two-legged animals, but determined men and women, like those who write on page 72, commenting on Leo McGree's *Battle for Jobs* last month. These are not people who will go quietly without a fight.

Remember the readers working 'in a company town, with a company post-office', who therefore had to cancel the *L.M.* subscription? (Not Fordstown, Dagenham or Haleowen, or even U.S.A. but Companytown, Canada.) Their letter ended: 'When we "come out" for a holiday we shall write and send a donation. This—a generous one—has reached us, and with it what stories! In Companytown you don't have to be a Red for your letters 'outside' to be intercepted, merely sufficiently disgruntled with conditions to be writing after another job. So a Silent Curtain falls. Our correspondent ends: 'I do miss the news; but best wishes to you all in the coming year—and when we get "out" next, we shall hope to send another donation.'

This is the quality of the people making up *L.M.* readership, so many of whom sent good wishes (and New Year presents) from all over the world. To quote only a handful: From *Lincolnshire:* 'I didn't know whether I would be able to afford anything this month, but I think I knew all the time I couldn't afford *not* to subscribe.' From *Ayrshire:* 'How I would like to have been present and proposed a toast to all who help to make *L.M.* what it is—a guide and friend on the path to the future.' From *Wigan:* 'A very small present in appreciation of all that *L.M.* and we all strive for, socialism and world peace.' From

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a *Durham miner's wife:* 'Our very best wishes and thanks for the Notes and articles, always so helpful and plain enough for anyone to understand.' From *London:* 'January *L.M.* is grand, real hard-hitting, especially for the industrial worker. You'll be glad to know that each of my 1962 copies has gone into Ford's factory through a worker at Dagenham.' From a *Devon Labour Party official:* 'Thanks for the ammunition every month to put the point of view of socialism across.' An *Edinburgh Communist:* 'I lent the 1960 number on the Indo-Chinese border and got a steady order placed with the newsagent—and another recruit to the Party.' From *Stoke:* 'While doing my household chores I came across a mislaid monetary gift to assist me over the festive season, which was a pleasure to me—and a greater pleasure to send it on to the fund.'

This is the lesson I learn from these readers' outlook: You read this magazine because you find it essential in the fight for peace and socialism. That is why we could always rely on you for support in every way, including financial support. That is why, when we come to the dire necessity of announcing a price rise, as we do on page 64, we know you will not only continue to support us, but work out yourselves, and with us, ways of getting over the main problem of the price rise: to prevent it being an obstacle to winning the new readers necessary to extend our influence—and yours—in Britain and the world. For we are not helpless two-legged animals, but men and women with a great purpose and a great cause, which must succeed.

ANGELA TUCKETT

Essex.

A very happy and progressive New Year to you all—and who deserve it more? Your mission and ours is no less than to save the world.

'Backslider'.

£82 13s. 0d.

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Our thanks to you all.

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Notes of the Month

BRITAIN'S HOUR OF TRUTH

The truth shall make you free.—*New Testament.*

FIRST, Nassau. Then De Gaulle. Blow follows blow. The Tory card-castle of illusions of Britain's future in the world lies in ruins. Nassau gave the final kick to the Fulton dream of the 'special relationship' with the United States. De Gaulle added his hearty kick against Anglo-Saxon interference in the West European Alliance. Even the Tory Central Office has lost its zest about the avalanche of paper literature it had been stacking up in readiness to put over the Common Market. The myth of nuclear 'independence' has exploded with a super-sonic bang. Backwoods Tory M.P.s have been besieging Cabinet Ministers with complaints that Britain has become an 'American outpost'. They have awoken, as usual, fifteen years late.

Icy Freeze and Power-Cuts

Simultaneously the economic blizzard has revealed a Government without a policy for the people. This hour of revelation of the consequences of Toryism (aided by Tory-Labourism) since the war may not be pleasant. But it can be salutary. Even the icy freeze-up and power-cuts, which (like a stage direction in a Shakespearean tragedy) have accompanied the grim political and economic fiascoes of the opening weeks of the year, have demonstrated to every household the price of squandering the nation's resources to pour out millions on nuclear abortions or to bolster up reactionary sultans against their peoples all over the world, while grudging and cutting down the necessary provision of capital to expand adequately electricity generation (of course with the customary barefaced attempt to blame it on the workers). Similarly the setbacks and buffeting and isolation of Britain in the international field have demonstrated the bankruptcy of the Fulton programme and the necessity to search for an alternative. High official mandarins have been given at this late hour the theme exercise to try to elaborate alternatives to the Common Market, at the same time as their efforts are stultified by the simultaneous provision that their search must remain blinkered and fettered within the confines of the cold war straitjacket and subservience to Nato and

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the United States. Along this road no solution lies. The need is for a real, and not a sham alternative. Exposure of the bankruptcy of Tory policy is not enough. This bankruptcy is becoming daily more plain to all. The Macmillan Tory Government has become a sitting duck for all to shoot at. What is most urgent now is to conduct the fight and win united support for the positive alternative programme which the present situation of Britain makes imperative.

Cracks in the Western Alliance

For it is not merely Britain that is now confronted with sharp decisions of policy, although it is in Britain that all the contradictions are most conspicuously mirrored. On the same day, January 14, the proclamation of President De Gaulle and the State of the Union Message of President Kennedy offered two conflicting programmes and lines of alliance for the Western imperialist world. The preponderant weight and influence still lies with the United States. But it was De Gaulle's open challenge which won the limelight in the world's press and thrust Kennedy's annual statement to the side columns. For the ruthless French logic and clarity of De Gaulle's pronouncement cut like a knife through the genial blurred haze of 'interdependence' of Nato, O.E.E.C., the Common Market and the Atlantic Community, whose contradictions the normal official utterances of Western statesmen seek to cover in a fog of generalities. In Britain inevitably the immediate effect of banging the door on Britain's application to join the Common Market, short of complete and unconditional capitulation, received the most attention. This is understandable, since this offensive transformed the political situation in Britain, and threw into confusion the entire strategy of the Government and the electoral calculations of Toryism. But in fact the offensive was wider. The sharp edge was directed against the intervention of the United States in Europe, and it was only as a corollary to this that Britain was spurned as a jackal of the United States.

Ideology and Imperialism

Of course the super-clever political commentators, who love to fit all political phenomena into neat parallelograms, without regard to any serious analysis of the class basis of politics, seek to console themselves for the cracks and contradictions in the Western imperialist alliance by observing that exactly the same thing is happening with the present ideological controversy in the international communist movement. They are mistaken. The present

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controversy in the international communist movement is an ideological controversy of tactics, such as has arisen not for the first time in the development of communism, and such as will require to be thrashed out, equally in the light of theory and of practice, in order to reach agreed conclusions. But it is an ideological controversy, involving the estimation of the varying contradictory aspects of the modern world situation, and in the light of such an estimation the judgement of the paths to be followed in order to reach the fulfilment of the agreed common aims of peace, peaceful co-existence, the banning of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear war, and the advance of national liberation and of economic and social emancipation within each country. There is no conflict here arising from the social-political system within the socialist countries. There is no conflict of rival expansionist aims to carve up the world, annex colonies or spheres of influence for the export of capital, or battle over the spoils of colonial super-profits. The differences are subjective.

Conflicts of Imperialism

The conflicts within the Western imperialist camp, on the other hand, arise from the economic-political system of imperialism. They are conflicts of rival interests of rival imperialist groupings. These conflicts could only be resolved by the theoretical goal of ultra-imperialism, or the victory and domination of one stronger imperialism over every other. This has been in fact the governing aim of United States imperialism since the war. But the fulfilment of this aim is actually further away today, eighteen years after the end of the war, than it was in the decade immediately following the war. The present growth of new conflicts demonstrates this. This growth of new conflicts reflects the fact that the relative predominance of the United States has diminished, and the other imperialist powers have begun to recover from the wounds of the war. Certainly the Western imperialist rulers have a common class ideology of anti-communism, and have endeavoured to construct combinations on this basis, as with Nato. But these combinations are always in practice cut across by the conflicts of rival imperialist interests, as Lenin long ago pointed out, and as the unfolding of the second world war proved anew. The ideology of anti-communism is used by the Western imperialist rulers, not only to express their common hostility to the world of socialism and national liberation, but also to cover their rival imperialist interests. Hitler used the slogan of anti-communism, and built the Anti-

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Comintern Pact of Germany, Italy and Japan, not only for the crusade against the Soviet Union, but also to launch the offensive against the rival imperialist powers, Britain, France and the United States. Similarly the United States in the recent era has used the slogan of anti-communism, not only to organise the cold war against the world of socialism and national liberation, but also to extend the domination of United States imperialism over the rest of the capitalist world. Thus the differences here correspond to the objective economic-political system of imperialism.

Kennedy's Programme of Ultra-Imperialism

President Kennedy in his State of the Union address set the aim in the international sphere to unify 'the Grand Alliance', 'the Atlantic Alliance'. On this basis he welcomed the steps towards the unification of Western Europe 'as a partner, not a rival'. In other words, the West European economic-political combination termed the Common Market must be a part of the 'Atlantic Alliance' dominated by the United States, not a separate alliance. Within this framework he had already expressed the approval and desire of the United States to see Britain enter the Common Market, as in accordance with United States policy, for the fulfilment of these aims. He wanted to see 'Europe move from independence to a more formal interdependence'. At the same time he sounded a sharp warning in the economic field that 'if the Common Market should move towards protectionism and restrictionism', that is, hinder American trade and expansion in Europe, 'it would undermine its own basic principles'. The strongest insistence on American domination came in the strategic field, in relation to nuclear weapons. The Nassau Agreement, which in practice ended the British claim to nuclear 'independence', was held up as the model in this respect. He emphasised that the U.S. 'expenditure of more than $15,000 million (£5,357 million) this year on nuclear weapons systems alone is equal to the combined defence budgets of our European allies'. On this basis he had already given as his view in his statement released on January 10 that for the West European countries 'to begin to have these national deterrents which will amount to a fraction of our deterrent really seems to me to be a waste of resources'. If national 'pride' led the West European states to insist on a share in nuclear weapons or in their control, then such participation must be organised only as 'a truly multilateral nuclear force within Nato', i.e. under American

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command. Such is the Kennedy programme for West European integration in a single 'Atlantic Alliance' under American control.

De Gaulle-Adenauer Axis?

Against this Kennedy programme the De Gaulle bombshell on the same day represented the most direct challenge. He repudiated the aim of 'a colossal Atlantic community under American dependence and direction' which would 'absorb the community of Europe'. For him the alliance of the Six represented an alliance of 'continental' powers against 'one and the same menace from one extremity to the other of their territorial ensemble', that is, a bloc equally against the East and against the West, or the old familiar Third Force confronting as a separate power the Soviet Union and socialist countries on the one side, and the United States and its British appendage on the other. On this basis he rejected Britain's entry into the Common Market unless Britain were to abandon its extra-European connections. Similarly in the strategic field the Nassau agreement was condemned as capitulation to the United States; the American offer of Polaris missiles rejected as involving subjection to the American strategic command; and the whole Kennedy conception of 'integration' in the nuclear field was repudiated. All the praise was reserved for Adenauer's neo-Nazi West Germany. Franco-German cooperation was proclaimed the cornerstone of French policy, German nuclear armament was declared to be entirely a matter for the West German Government to decide.

Hitlerite Resurrection?

It is evident that we have here, in terms of imperialist alignment, a resurrection in new forms of the Hitlerite 'New Order in Europe', which similarly proclaimed the economic-political-military 'integration' of Continental Western Europe, with Germany as the dominant power, Vichy France and Mussolini's Italy as the associates, and with the guns turned against the Soviet Union on the one side and against the United States and Britain on the other. Subjectively no doubt De Gaulle dreams of himself as the new Charlemagne leading the bloc. But the dominant power, economic and military, in the bloc is already that of West Germany, with the French iron and steel interests linked to the stronger German monopolists as in the days of Vichy. The West German Army is already the strongest in Western Europe and in process

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of being further increased. The political forces within France which brought into being and today support De Gaulle's authoritarian rule are the same which supported Petain and Vichy. The former opponent of Vichy has become the Man of Vichy. After all the sharp plain speaking of De Gaulle about the United States and Britain, the tone of the references to West Germany became as obsequious and deferential as that of any British Government Minister referring to the United States. The German neo-Nazis and militarists may be well satisfied for the moment to let De Gaulle assume the airs of leadership and pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them, while they to a certain extent still put a bridle on their tongues and profess a more modest tone of willing docility and Atlantic co-operation—until they have secured, with French aid, the nuclear arms they covet. Then the adventures may begin. 'For us the second world war is not yet completed', as the recent Defence Minister Strauss said in the United States.

Shifting Trends

Nothing is here yet fixed in this rapidly moving international situation. To assume that De Gaulle's pronouncement represents the last word, even for France, still less for the Six, would be foolish. While Adenauer has supported De Gaulle, the internal situation in West Germany is unstable; even in France the balance of forces may change, as the opposition of Monnet, chief architect of the Common Market, to the line of De Gaulle has indicated. Britain has sought to mobilise the Five against France in order to hold off the final breakdown of the negotiations. The Brussels negotiations in the middle of January, which France sought to end forthwith, have been adjourned until the last days of January for a decision. On this slender basis whiffs of consolatory hot air have been spread through the British press to reassure the disillusioned and buoy them up with hopes that the setback is only temporary and that all will come right in the end.

Time to Face Facts

This spectacle of the spurned suitor hovering outside the door after he has been kicked out, or of the condemned victim clutching at forlorn hopes for a stay of execution, is as pitiful as it is humiliating. It is time to face the facts. The Five cannot carry the entry of Britain into the Common Market against the will of France, even if they should wish it; and it is doubtful if West Germany

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wishes it; the others are of minor importance. The Treaty of Rome is explicit. The alliance of the Six can only be changed or extended by the unanimous decision of the Six. The Five have not even the right to opt out, in order to draw up a separate agreement with Britain. Adhesion is irrevocable according to the terms of the Treaty. They could only repudiate their obligations and smash the Common Market—an improbable prospect for the time being. Alternately they, or the United States and Britain, could seek to exercise pressure on France, or to offer a bribe (e.g. nuclear know-how) to make a deal. There is no sign of any immediate prospect of such attempts being effective. Certainly no one would predict the long-term possibilities of the internal political situation in the countries of Western Europe or of the further alignments and realignments within the Western imperialist camp. Nothing is irreversible in this sphere. But the immediate effect is inescapable. The immediate effect has been to wreck the Tory Government's international economic and political strategy, based on entry into the Common Market, and the short-term electoral calculations based on that strategy. The opponents of the Common Market, who were initially a limited minority at a time when all the political wiseacres were declaring that Britain's entry into the Common Market was of course inevitable, and that opposition could only be a sentimental gesture without effect, have now not only been proved justified in their stand. They have been proved more accurate in their judgement of the realities of the international situation. Now is the time to break with the policy which has been proved a humiliating flop and enter on the new paths which are open.

Vain Threats

Impotent fury of the Common Marketeers in Britain has opened their mouths. 'The fight with the French is now open', proclaimed the *Observer's* political commentator on January 20; 'it is the oldest war of all, the Anglo-French war'. The *Sunday Times* proposed on the same day to answer 'the General's blackball' by forming 'a free trade area of the United States, Britain and Efta' counterposed to the Franco-German combination of the Six. Denouncing 'the French Monarch' and 'the mesmerised Chancellor in Bonn', Lord Gladwyn, former Ambassador in Paris and main protagonist of the Common Market campaign, proposed in the *Daily Telegraph* of January 18 that the United States and Britain should reply by declaring that they 'cannot be responsible any longer for defending Europe' i.e. should threaten to withdraw the

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occupation troops as a form of pressure. The same threat came from the United States Administration as a form of pressure on the Common Market:

> Mr. Orville Freeman, the Secretary of Agriculture, suggested that the United States might be unable to maintain its security commitments in Western Europe if the E.E.C. adopted protectionist agricultural policies. Addressing the National Council of Farmer Co-operatives at Miami Beach, Florida, he said that in 1962 the U.S. agricultural exports to Western Europe were approximately equal to the trade deficit on the overall balance of payments.
>
> 'This deficit was incurred primarily', he went on, 'to meet our security and assistance commitments in Western Europe and other areas. Any sizeable cutback in the volume of our agricultural trade would seriously impair our ability to maintain these commitments'.
>
> (*The Times*, January 9, 1963.)

A palpable threat from the Overlord. But will it any longer be effective?

Defence or Menace?

To the mass of the peoples of Europe the prospect of the withdrawal of the American troops of occupation would undoubtedly bring great joy. This is indeed the proposal for the withdrawal of all troops of occupation on both sides which the Soviet Union has repeatedly urged and which the Western powers have so far rejected. But would even the ruling classes of Western Europe be terrified any longer by the threat of a withdrawal of the American military occupation, now that the initial fears of a popular socialist revolution during the first years after the war have been so far circumvented? The only exception might be for a while still the West German Government, not for reasons of defence, but to be sure of involving the United States in any actions directed towards their official aims for the expansion of their frontiers. Would the threat of American withdrawal terrorise De Gaulle into submission? It may be recalled that it was De Gaulle who insisted on the removal of the American nuclear bombers from France, on the grounds that they represented, not protection, but a menace to France, and the nuclear bombers were accordingly transferred to docile Britain.

Twilight of Nato

The truth is that Nato, which was always in fact a dangerous aggressive combination, has become today a still dangerous, but more and more obviously anachronistic survival. The only legal basis for the maintenance of American troops in Europe, specifically

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Germany, after the war was to ensure the fulfilment of the inter-allied agreements for the destruction of Nazism and fascism and disarmament of Germany and to prevent Germany being rearmed. This basis vanished with the repudiation of Potsdam and rearmament of German militarism, although the Western representatives still have the effrontery to invoke this supposed 'legal' basis for their continued occupation of West Berlin. Nato was invented four years after the war as a substitute (in fact an illegal treaty in violation of the United Nations Charter) on the basis of a theory of the supposed impending menace of the invasion of Western Europe by Soviet armies. Not a single Western statesman believes in that theory today. The simplest practical proof of this has been the continuous resistance of the West European Governments (except for West Germany) to supply the contingents more and more frantically demanded every year by the American Nato Supreme Command as the minimum necessary to prevent a successful Soviet aggression. France withdrew almost its entire contingent for the seven years war in Algeria, involving half a million men, without the slightest sign of any alarm over leaving the front open in Europe.

Towards New Horizons

The modern international situation, and still more the modern strategic situation (the intercontinental ballistic missile was unknown when Nato was invented) is more and more making the whole structure of Nato a costly anachronism, still capable of mischief, but in practice by-passed by the new international currents. The present inter-imperialist alignments and realignments and conflicts, which now draw the centre of attention, the Common Market, the Adenauer-De Gaulle Axis, Efta, or the orientation towards or against the United States, are all developing outside the ghostly forms of Nato. Nato could still be put to some sudden dangerous use, so long as it exists, by West German militarist adventurers, especially if they were to succeed in their aim to get a finger on nuclear weapons, or if a reckless strategy were to develop from the side of the United States. The transition from the old rigid forms of Nato and anti-Nato as the sum total of international relations to the present fluid stage of shifting combinations and alignments is not necessarily a step forward. It can bring new and acute dangers, notably through the role of West Germany. But the present rapidly moving international situation can also

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give new opportunities to make a fresh approach, to thrust aside old obstacles and work towards new concrete measures of negotiation and partial agreements for the reduction of tension. This is what Soviet policy has understood. This is where the new positive role of Britain could arise.

For a New Deal in Europe

The conditions are ripening to endeavour to replace the confrontation of Nato and the Warsaw Pact by some wider form of agreement for security on a European scale, possibly in the first place through a Non-Aggression Pact between the two alliances, and thus work towards further agreements for the withdrawal of occupation troops (which would lift a heavy burden from Britain's budget and overseas balance), a peaceful settlement in relation to Germany, a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe alongside a nuclear test ban, and extension of trade and economic co-operation between East and West Europe. Such aims would be far more sensible aims for Britain's foreign policy to pursue in the present situation in relation to Europe rather than continue to press an unwanted suit for entry into a restrictionist and reactionary Little Europe.

For Peace in the East

Similarly in the Far East it is essential to end the present abnormal and dangerous war situation maintained by United States policy. Fourteen years after the Chinese People's Revolution, after the Chinese people by their unity and heroism and leadership had prevailed against all the massive arms and subsidies poured in by the United States to buttress the hated Chiang Kai-shek, after the stability of the Chinese Government in the support of the people is attested by every observer of every political colour, the United States still refuses to recognise China, just as it refused to recognise the Soviet Government for seventeen years. China, one fourth of the population of the world, is excluded from the United Nations. China is refused rightful place amongst the ranks of the great powers. U.S. officially proclaimed policy is still to overthrow by violence the Chinese government ('the mainland invasion'). Reactionary militarist regimes are armed and subsidised on the borders of China. South Korea. Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan. The U.S. Seventh Fleet has its guns trained on the coasts of China. 20,000 U.S. troops operate in South Vietnam.

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The unhappy Indo-Chinese Border conflict is in reality only a part of this wider issue, where Western imperialism has sought to use India as a cat's paw in order to build a further front against China. It is to be hoped that the mediation of the Colombo Powers will help to make possible the negotiations which the Chinese have continuously offered for a peaceful settlement, and that the bellicose plans of the Anglo-American Military Missions will be thwarted.

Europe and Asia

The refusal to recognise the German Democratic Republic and fostering of expansionist German militarism in Europe. The refusal to recognise the Chinese People's Republic and fostering of expansionist military regimes and the American open war front in the eastern Pacific. These are the explosive danger spots in the world today. The danger is increased by the advance of nuclear weapons. China has proposed a nuclear-free zone in the Far East. Every effort should be made, while there is time, to hasten the fulfilment of these plans for nuclear-free zones in the Far East, in the regions of Europe and in Africa, while at the same time working for a nuclear test ban as a preliminary to the banning of all nuclear weapons and general disarmament.

Alternative to Fulton, Nassau and the Common Market

The Fulton programme which has in fact continued to govern British foreign policy since its formulation a year after the end of the war is in ruins. Fulton was devised when the British ruling class realised that Britain could no longer hope to equal the two greatest world powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. This realisation was revealed when Churchill already before the end of the war startled parliament by referring to the Big 'Two and a Half' rather than the Big Three. The essence of Fulton was to seek at all costs to prevent closer U.S.-Soviet cooperation, such as had been foreshadowed by the Roosevelt era, to play on anti-Soviet antagonism, and on this basis seek to establish Britain as the indispensable special ally of the United States, while at the same time building up under British inspiration a reactionary bloc of Western Europe with a rearmed Germany. Fulton was seventeen years ago. The whole balance of the world has changed since then. Fulton was three years before the final victory of the Chinese Revolution, the greatest advance of the socialist revolution

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since 1917. Otherwise Churchill would have no doubt added Pekin to his long list of 'ancient capitals' over whose loss to mourn (but no tears when the Western imperialist bandits sacked Pekin in 1900). India was still subject. It was a different world.

Towards a New Policy

Today the Fulton programme, after having done much harm, is obsolete in the eyes of all. The United States spurns Britain save as a vassal. Nassau has shown that. The West European bloc has been built up under Adenauer and De Gaulle without Britain, and has left Britain a rejected suitor on the doormat. After endless squandering of resources the dream of 'independent' nuclear power is in practice finished. The gradual tentative approaches towards closer U.S.-Soviet negotiations since Cuba for extended partial agreements over other fields, and especially in relation to nuclear weapons—still precarious, but reflecting the new balance of the world—are recognised by all as carrying the hopes of the immediate future. It is time for Britain's rulers to draw a line across the bankrupt past policies, and advance to a new independent foreign policy in harmony with the aspirations of mankind for peace, as well as with the true needs of Britain for international economic co-operation. Such an independent foreign policy for peace and international economic co-operation is the essential counterpart and condition for the fulfilment of a programme of social and economic advance at home. Around these aims it is necessary to develop the fight for the defeat of the Tory Government, and to rally the entire labour, trade union, co-operative, communist and peace movement in the coming election for the victory of such a programme.

Labour After Gaitskell

All readers of *Labour Monthly*, irrespective of political differences, will mourn the loss of Hugh Gaitskell, Leader of the Labour Party since 1955. Certainly there were many and sharp differences which brought him in conflict with the left. He was a sincere liberal, a passionate hater of social injustice and inequality and one who strove for social justice, even though he confused this sincere philanthropic indignation over social injustice and inequality and desire for social justice with socialism, that is, the understanding that the class ownership of the means of production is the root cause of social injustice and inequality and that only the social ownership

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of the means of production can end these evils. But in the last months before his untimely death, with the possible close prospect of becoming Premier, he was moving towards a higher stage of activity which might have had national and international significance. His vehement criticism of the Tory policy of capitulation to the Common Market, even though not the same as explicit opposition, raised for the first time an issue of battle on major policy between the two parties, helped to rally the movement, won support from the left and criticism from most of his former right wing supporters. When he followed this up by announcing his acceptance of the invitation to visit Moscow and have talks with Khrushchov, at the very same moment as Macmillan was journeying to Nassau to make his submission to Kennedy, this became also a political act, suggesting the possibility that he had moved to the realisation that rejection of the Common Market would require as its consequence a new initiative in foreign policy, especially in the sphere of East-West relations. Such a line of development, while wholly compatible with his continued right wing outlook, could have had a positive constructive significance in the present international situation. Whatever the possibilities, death cut them short. His successor will be chosen, in accordance with the British capitalist parliamentary traditions, as in the Conservative Party, by the M.P.s and not by the Labour Party Conference or Executive. But the question of the future of Labour policy is far wider than any question of personalities. In these critical coming months it will be the concern of every socialist and supporter of peace to strive to win the whole labour movement for the new stage in policy which is now so essential equally for the future of Britain and for Britain's role in the world.

January 21, 1963. R.P.D.

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WHY WE MUST RAISE OUR PRICE

OUR READERS' support and understanding has always been generously given in times of difficulty, when we set our problems before them. This we must now do as we are forced to raise the price of the magazine.

THE PRESENT PRICE OF *Labour Monthly* has been unchanged since as long ago as 1951. During these twelve years costs have steadily risen for all publications, as for everything else. Between 1951 and 1961 the national average price for all magazines, the National Income Blue Book shows, has risen from 79 points to 118 points. In other words, what was 1s. 6d. in 1951 would be about 2s. 3d. in 1961.

A PRICE RISE even of that amount has not by itself been enough to meet the higher production costs of magazines. Gaps were closed by bigger advertising revenues. Failing that, a close-down.

MANY FAMOUS MAGAZINES have closed down during these twelve years. Others are only maintained by subsidies, either from publishers for prestige reasons or from anonymous wealthy backers.

LABOUR MONTHLY has kept its price unaltered throughout these twelve years—although we do not get the advertising revenue to which we should be entitled as the most widely circulated serious political monthly. We do not have any millionaire backers either. Yet our journal has survived now for forty-two years. How has it been done? Can the seeming miracle continue?

READERS' DONATIONS and the devotion and sacrifice of our small staff and unpaid contributors have combined to bridge the gap between costs and income over most of the twelve-year period. But for the special donations given us in our Fortieth Birthday Year (1961) the need to consider putting up our price would have come sooner than this. Unfortunately, we cannot put it off any longer in face of present conditions.

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FOR EXAMPLE, to take only two items. Printing costs have increased steeply, and as our lease falls due for renewal, our rent and rates will be more than doubled this year. We shall have to raise the price to 2s.—less than the average rise in price of magazines during this period. This new price will start with our March issue.

WE UNDERSTAND the difficulty this may mean for many readers, not least those whose circumstances oblige them to get their copy by postal subscription, and who may be hard hit at having to find all the money in one go. So we have decided to try to ease the position by a special concession. Read the announcement on page iii of cover for details.

WE ASK THE CO-OPERATION of all our readers in A GREAT DRIVE to extend the readership and support of *Labour Monthly*. Is it taken in your branch, welfare institute or club? Is it taken in your public library? Every reader can help in this. Not a reader must be lost. Where there is difficulty, try if two or three can club together. Every new reader won means a new and informed supporter for the aims of socialism and the left in the trade union and labour movement.

BECOME A GUARANTOR if you are not one already. Win new financial backers. The letters which flow into our office show the warmth of support for our journal and the cause we seek to serve. Let this support be translated into financial support, in order that the good work may go on.

THE COMING MONTHS will bring new and urgent political tests and tasks for the people of Britain and for the peoples of the world. We believe that the role of our magazine, tested during these forty-two years of fateful events, will be needed more than ever to help in our common tasks during this coming year.

R. PALME DUTT, *Editor.*

R. PAGE ARNOT, *Associate Editor.*

ANGELA TUCKETT, *Assistant Editor.*

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Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties

FOUNDRIES AND BRITISH ECONOMY

D. Lambert

General Secretary, Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers.

BRITISH foundries form a basic industry supplying iron, steel and non-ferrous castings, mainly to the engineering industry, the building industry and to nationalised concerns. Foundries do not often market finished products. They supply components to their parent firm or to other firms on a contract basis. It follows that the fortunes of the industry are not directly controlled by those who run it. They are determined by the prospects facing those sections of the economy which foundries service. Because of this, foundry workers have never limited their concern to what is happening in their own industry, but are deeply involved in the broader social and industrial problems of our time.

The foundry is an important industry, employing about 170,000 workers, 123,000 in iron foundries and 16,000 in steel. The remainder are in non-ferrous foundries for which no reliable manpower statistics are available. Since the Second World War the changing pattern of life in Britain has brought about many changes in the foundry, in the character of its labour force and the numbers employed. The effect of these changes can best be illustrated by a study of the excellent statistics on iron-foundry production supplied by the Iron and Steel Board, which has an interest in foundry affairs.

When the steel industry was nationalised, iron foundries (except for a few 'tied' foundries) were excluded from the legislation because they are associated with so many other industries. The Iron and Steel Board is authorised to exercise general supervision over the industry, and in this it works closely with the Joint Iron Council, which represents the industry on all matters except wages negotiations. This form of organisation developed under war conditions and the problems of transition to the post-war era. It has been maintained. In a recent review of the iron-founding situation, Mr. N. P. Newman, President of the Joint Iron Council, declared:

> If we are to have a planned economy in the future on a national scale, the iron-foundry industry is probably as well placed as any to estimate its needs and count on their being met.

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Given rational planning for expansion, foundry workers could accept this assurance with some confidence in the future. But Tory 'planning' in the textile, coal and railway industries has shown the devastation which their restrictive concepts of planning can cause. Because foundries service all these industries they have been seriously affected by the changes taking place in them. Indeed, a study of the changes in foundry production can provide the basis for considering what is happening in British economy as a whole, and what needs to be done to overcome the social and economic problems to which these changes give rise.

Taking the period 1949-1961, the following table shows the significant changes in the production of iron castings over these thirteen years:

	Section of Industry	1949 (*Thousand Tons*)	1961 (*Thousand Tons*)	% *Change* + *or* −
1.	Cars, Commercial Vehicles, Tractors, etc.	335	695	+107
2.	Metals (mainly Iron and Steel)	444	606	+ 59
3.	Building and Allied Industries	322	461	+ 43
4.	General Engineering	570	610	+ 7
5.	Pressure Pipes	545	499	− 8
6.	Railway Equipment	322	273	− 15
7.	Misc. Industries	260	208	− 20
8.	Heavy Engineering Plant	396	311	− 21
9.	Coal Industry	41	31	− 25
10.	Domestic Goods	153	112	− 27
		3,388	3,806	+ 12

Iron castings for motor cars, commercial vehicles and tractors accounted for 18 per cent of the total output in 1961 compared with 10 per cent in 1949. In addition, aluminium castings have replaced iron in many cases. The annual production of aluminium castings, mainly for the car and the aircraft industries nearly doubled, from 48,000 tons in 1949 to 93,000 tons in 1961. So the foundry has a vital stake in these key sections of industry and can be a decisive factor in shaping its progress.

The post-war expansion of the steel industry has increased the demand for iron castings. Most of the increase in Section 2 is accounted for by the production of ingot moulds for the steel industry. In the same way, more house building and other types of building made necessary an increase of 139,000 tons of castings

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by 1961 in Section 3. These three industries, cars, steel and building, show how the foundry is affected by changes in diverse sections of the whole economy. The advances in these three sections are offset by the decline in demand for castings in others. General engineering certainly shows a slight advance of 7 per cent, but within this section the demand for castings in the textile industry declined from 165,000 tons in 1949 to 107,000 in 1961. The 1961 figure, too, is a substantial improvement on the position in 1958 and 1959, when demand had slumped to 82,000 tons.

In part, the progress since then is due to the drive of certain firms producing textile machinery in securing large contracts from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This pattern of events, which the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers has always encouraged, will certainly be even more important in the coming years, not only for textile machinery but for all the specialised tools and quality machines which our industrial experience enables us to produce better than our world competitors.

In heavy engineering, castings for ships' engines, propellers and boilers have been reduced by half. This is partly due to the decline in shipbuilding and the change from coal-burning to oil in ships. Iron castings for ships have also been replaced by prefabricated steel sections, one challenge of changing techniques which the industry has so far failed to meet. In 1949, the weight of castings required was 190,000 tons. By 1961 it had fallen to 93,000 tons and it continues to decline. The decline of the coal industry has cut their demand for iron castings by 25 per cent. The slashing of the railway system had already cut demand by 15 per cent in 1961, and the worst effects of Dr. Beeching's policies have yet to be recorded. The decline in 'domestic goods' has taken place despite a great expansion in demand. This is due to the extensive use of sheet metal or plastics in place of cast iron in the production of gas cookers, refrigerators, etc.

That is the debit side. These developments have changed the shape and character of the foundry industry. More than 500 iron foundries have closed since 1949. About 1,400 remain in production, but hardly a week goes by without some famous names in foundry history vanishing. New foundries have opened, catering for the needs of the new mass-production industries. Fords, for example, now employ more than 3,000 workers at their Dagenham foundries alone. Similar developments have taken place in the Midlands to feed the car industry there. Completely new shell

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moulding and die-casting plants have been built around the car industry to mass produce high quality precision castings, relatively unskilled labour without any previous foundry experience being trained to man the machines.

Concentration of foundry production in these areas has been accompanied by a serious decline in employment prospects for foundry workers in all the main traditional foundry areas. Scotland and Northern Ireland, Tyneside, the North West (including Merseyside), Yorkshire and parts of South Wales have all suffered in varying degrees.*

* Area	Production of Iron Castings (Thousand Tons)			Employment (Thousands)		
	1949	*1961*	*% Change*	*1949*	*1961*	*% Change*
1. Midlands (Birmingham)	590	853	+45	35.5	36.5	+ .3
2. South, S.W. (Home Counties)	303	436	+44	18.1	17.9	- 1
3. Wales	201	237	+18	3.6	4.1	+14
4. North (including Cumberland)	349	411	+15	9.1	7.2	-22
5. N. Midlands (Derby)	737	748	+ 1.5	20.6	19.7	- 4
6. North-West (Lancashire and Cheshire)	383	377	- 1.5	20.9	14.7	-30
7. E. and W. Yorkshire	404	372	- 8	16.0	13.5	-16
8. Scotland and N. Ireland	421	372	-11	22.4	15.1	-33
	3,388	3,806	+12	146.2	127.7	-13

The tremendous growth of productivity in the newer foundries is shown in the Midlands and Southern areas where production has gone up by 45 per cent and 44 per cent, respectively, with almost the same total labour force as in 1949.

It is not surprising that Mr. Newman, President of the Joint Iron Council, could declare in the report earlier referred to:

> We have the highest output per man year in Europe. We produce castings more economically than any other country in Europe . . . our methods of production and technical skill are certainly equal to those of continental foundries.

This was said to support his view that the industry had nothing to fear in facing the challenge of the Common Market. At least it is a change from the whines and groans about the 'lazy British workers' laying down beside the job. Mr. Newman, it should be noted, was talking about the industry as a whole. The majority of British foundries are small. Production methods have not been greatly changed. Yet productivity has improved in these 'traditional' foundries, too. The results give Mr. Newman good cause for satisfaction. For the workers concerned it has all too often meant unemployment, short-time working and higher accident rates due to the increasing strain of production schedules.

Total production in Scotland and Northern Ireland fell by 11 per

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cent between 1949 and 1961, but manpower was reduced by 33 per cent in that time. In the North West, including Merseyside, production in 1961 was only slightly less than in 1949, but manpower was down by 30 per cent. This trend is apparent in Yorkshire too. The position on the North East Coast is that manpower went down by 22 per cent and production rose by 15 per cent. The increase in production was largely due to the output of ingot moulds in the North. If this is taken into account, the pattern in this area is similar to the position in Scotland and the North West, *i.e.*, a slight increase in production and a decline of 22 per cent in the number of workers employed. All this gives added point to the consistent pressure from the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers within the labour movement for some positive direction of industry to those areas of the country where employment prospects have declined in the last decade and where thousands of highly skilled workers can find no use for the training and experience acquired in the only trade they know. We have to think about this more.

This pressure is beginning to make an impression on the public mind and on political leaders who are looking now with one wary eye on the General Election. The nearer we get to it the more attention will be paid to reasoned arguments for the growth of industries in the depressed areas. After the election these arguments can be quietly forgotten again. We need to force through public commitments to a constructive policy of directing industry now if the problems are to be correctly solved. We need to think more about this, too. Demanding the direction of new mass production industries may not be the most effective answer to employment problems in the depressed areas. The figures show that a tremendous growth of production is possible on this basis so far as foundries are concerned without any great increase in the numbers employed in the industry at all. Nor is it any answer to the problem if an expansion of the car industry in Scotland or on Merseyside is won at the extension of short-time working in the Midlands or the South. The extent of this short-time working in the 'affluent' areas is a factor all too often overlooked.

The greatest need is for a planned expansion of the main sections of our economic life in a way that will utilise and develop to the full the skills acquired by our craftsmen and technicians. This skill is our greatest national asset. It is being squandered. We must provide work that will give craftsmen a chance to use the talents they have and which will restore confidence in their future as

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craftsmen in the industry for which they have been trained. If they have work the other sections of engineering workers have better prospects too.

It is true that the number of craftsmen needed in many industries will steadily decline. In iron foundries, for example, the total labour force declined by 13 per cent between 1949 and 1961, but the number of skilled moulders dropped from 43,500 to 29,300, *i.e.*, by 32 per cent in the same period. Many foundry craftsmen are demanding restrictions on entry to the craft because of this. This is not surprising and in some areas it may well be necessary. Meanwhile, a survey conducted by the Engineering Employers' Federation in 1961 revealed the fact that only one-third of the lads who enter foundries as apprentices are staying to complete their training. The rest drift into less-skilled occupations which, ironically enough, offer better prospects of security and higher earnings. There is not much time. One generation of skill and experience is wasting away. A new generation is being stifled by lack of opportunity. We shall pay a heavy price for this unless the stranglehold of Tory restrictions can be broken soon.

We need an expanding building industry, a planned policy of 'scrap and build' for shipbuilding, the modernisation of our machine tool industry which has been badly neglected, a generous policy of technical aid to under-developed countries. Given these objectives, the foundry industry can make a decisive contribution towards a truly affluent society. But this, to again quote Mr. Newman, needs consistent planning which

> will channel money in the right directions instead of being ruled by the alternate periods of flood and stagnation we have experienced in recent years.

Even some captains of industry no longer look on 'planning' as a dirty word. They may not follow the logic of their thoughts through to accept the need for public ownership. This would be too much to expect. But we do not have to convince *them*. We have to convince our own labour movement about what needs to be done. We have to put in power the kind of Government that really believes in Socialist planning and will give the workers of this country a chance to show that they can live up to the aspirations of the Foundry Workers' motto:

> *Together moulding a better world.*

That is, as it must always be, our real objective.

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BATTLE FOR JOBS ADVANCES

(The Battle for Jobs described by Leo McGree in the January issue, is now being waged in a tremendous campaign building up in Wales and the North leading to the lobbying of Parliament by delegates from Wales and from all the Federations of Trades Councils in the North. These campaigns of almost unprecedented scope are vividly described in the letters below.)

MAY I ADD a postcript to Leo McGree's pithy article in the December *Labour Monthly*, on the Mersey Lobby for Jobs.

This action undoubtedly sparked off a resolution which was adopted at the November meeting of Tynemouth District and Whitley Bay Trades Council calling on 'the North East Federation of Trades Councils to propose to the rest of the Northern Federations, that a Northern Trades Union lobby of Parliament should take place as early as possible'.

North East decided to support the kernel of our resolution and to put the machinery in motion on December 8. As a consequence the Federations of the North East, Teeside, Cumberland and Westmorland, Yorkshire and Lancashire met at Darlington on January 12, 1963, and agreed on a considerable programme of activity. Firstly, that a Lobby of Parliament should take place on March 26, preceded by a mass meeting in London on the Right to Work, which the Leader of the Labour Party and the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress would be invited to address. Secondly, deputations should be sent to the Prime Minister, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Board of Trade and Transport Ministry. Thirdly, that liaison should be made with the trades councils of Glasgow, Belfast, South Wales and Glamorgan, North Wales and Cheshire, and the London Federation. Lord Hailsham was to be pressed for increase in unemployment benefits.

There is good reason why such a formidable programme was decided upon by all these important bodies. On unemployment the picture has changed rapidly and dramatically in the northern region, that is the N.E. Coast, Cumberland and Westmorland and North Yorkshire. In December 1961, there was 40,243 registered unemployed and in December 1962, 64,851 registered. The outstanding vacancies notified to the Ministry of Labour at December 1961 were 7,360 and at December 1962, 4,798. This is bad enough at first glance, but if one probes deeper one sees that the position really started to deteriorate in May (when the figures normally improve with seasonal work) till October, when employment prospects plunged with 17,207 workers becoming unemployed from then until December.

So far as youngsters are concerned, we are worse off here than anywhere in Britain; for example on Wearside 6 per cent, Teeside 7 per cent and West Durham 10 per cent of the July 1962 school leavers are without their first job and some of them have five or more G.C.E. passes. There were at December 10, 3,240 boys and 1,886 girls unemployed, a figure three times as high as a year ago.

The problems socially stem, in the main, from the distress caused by the reduction in income. No one here doubts for a second that the

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unemployed today are worse off than those pre-war. There is, however, a curious feature arising out of the exodus South due mainly to the closures in the Durham coalfields. For instance, four Durham Parish Councils, Coxhoe, Kelloe, Shincliffe and Cassop cum Quarrington met to discuss among other things, the effect of the drift on council property. The four councils named have a combined population of 12,000 and there are 3,700 houses, quite adequate to their need; but in two years 450 miners and their families have gone south and the fears of the Labour Councils are that council houses may stand empty and become a drain on their very low resources. Hence the importance and emphasis the Durham miners place on the need to build in Durham a coal-fired Power Station which would guarantee the jobs of 10,000 miners.

I commenced by a request to add a postcript to Leo McGree's article. After a moments reflection I rather think that I should have said he had written the preface to a new edition of a very old story with a different ending. A lead-in to the next chapter might well be a quote from an old pal: 'Even a magician could not make the Lions of the Battlefield the mice of industry'.

LES ALLEN,
Secretary, Tynemouth & Whitley Bay Trades Council.

IN BATTLE FOR JOBS, Leo McGree spotlighted one of the most damnable features of the present unemployment position. That is the increasing numbers of young people, and particularly school-leavers, joining the ranks of the unemployed. Wales has not been excluded from the Tory attack on living standards. Hundreds of young people now are unemployed or have been forced to remain at school as an alternative to walking the streets looking for jobs that do not exist. January figures of Mid-Glamorgan are expected to be the worst for seventeen years and the total figures for Wales to rise to more than 37,000. Cardiff youth unemployment figures on January 7 are a sign of the worsening trend in youth unemployment and the inability of industry to accommodate school-leavers. A fine tribute to Tory planning. Of the 369 boys who left school at Christmas, 89 had not been able to find suitable employment and a further 89 had voluntarily returned to school, and 40 girls were still looking for work.

In the valleys too, this has become a serious problem. With the continued threat of pit and rail closures ringing in the ears of the people, and more and more factory workers becoming redundant, the prospect in the valleys is grim. Short-time working has become quite commonplace to hundreds of factory workers. Firms like I.C.I. and B.S.A. have closed down branch factories at Merthyr and with every take-over bid in the cities, yet another factory comes under the axe. The workers of Murphy Radios at Hirwaun were given notice to finish within no time of the take-over by the big Rank Organisation. In the Rhondda valley quite a number of small light industries are working on short-time or at under capacity. Young people walking the streets, standing at street corners being forced to idle away the day in very much the same way that their fathers did a generation ago. Mining may have been the mainstay of the Welsh economy in pre-war days, but this position no longer remains. Since the last war, subsidiary industry was channelled into the valleys, creating jobs for the sons and daughters of mining fami-

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lies who would have hitherto been obliged to follow in their parents' footsteps, either by descending the mine or migrating to the more prosperous cities. This new development in the structure of the Welsh industrial scene has now been halted and in a number of cases reversed by Tory government policy. The large industrial combines, centred in London and the North, who were quick to take advantage of the preferential treatment accorded to firms setting up factories in the valleys, are now amputating their many branches in an attempt to consolidate their position in the 'highly competitive market in Europe'. Railways are being closed. A number of pits are on the books for closure.

The Battle for Jobs in Wales has already begun. On February 13 Miners and Railwaymen are to lobby Parliament on the question of 'Threatened Closures and Unemployment'; it's a long awaited unity of miners and railwaymen. The whole question of unemployment—in all trades—has become the real issue of the day. It is to the credit of the miners and railwaymen that they have been able to win the maximum support for this lobby embracing all sections of the people.

This lobby on February 13 will affect all sections of the community, employed and unemployed, housewives who have to manage on the weekly dole money, young men and women who have to postpone their plans for the future, as a result of Tory attacks on jobs.

TONY WINTER, *Cardiff.*

OUR FACTORY is threatened with closure at the end of January this year. At present 222 are employed, two-thirds of whom are women, the majority are single girls; many are juveniles. We were first told of the close down in the middle of December 1962. A notice was put up saying that the factory was to close due to economic reasons and 'the falling down of forward orders'.

My feeling then was one of shock because our factory had the best record for stability of employment on the Hirwaun Trading Estate. It is a lesson for those in other factories because our employment seemed so sure. The first reaction of the workers was also one of shock, then, 'we'll get another job'. There were plenty of jokes about what sort of jobs, but now the feeling is changing, bitterness is creeping in and the majority realise that they may be receiving unemployment benefit at the end of the month. There appear to be two opinions, 'What can we do?', or 'We can't do anything', but the idea is now gaining strength that we should do something as we have nothing to lose. The reserve is breaking down and our workers are beginning to want to put up a struggle to make their voices heard. So we have organised petitions, to the Council and the Trades and Labour Council, to the M.P., to the Managing Director. On Friday, January 11, a deputation of our Shop Stewards, A.E.U. officials, Councillors and the M.P. went to Birmingham to see the Managing Director.

Trade Union officials have a set procedure, which is excellent in its own way; but it is essential that the ordinary trade unionists should do everything they can to make their voices heard through petitions, meetings, demonstrations to support their elected union officials in their negotiations to keep factories open. It is only when we are working that we can fight to maintain our work. It is too late when we are unemployed.

GARFIELD THOMAS,
A.E.U. Convenor, Aberdare.

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FIGARO AND COLUMBIA

Wilfred Macartney

FIGARO in the opera was full of devices and strategies, a devious but delightful fellow. In real life his creator, Beaumarchais, was even more resourceful and on a greater stage than the Theatre Francais (Comedie Francaise) could provide in an Eighteenth Century of war and revolution. The main and lasting beneficiary of his talents (and talents) was these 'united states'. His favourite nephew was killed fighting there. In 1870, nearly a hundred years after the Declaration of Independence, an ex-United States Minister to France, John Biglow, wrote these words:

> To him more than any other person belongs the credit of making Louis XVI comprehend the political importance of aiding the colonies in their struggle with Great Britain; he planned and executed the ingenious scheme by which the aid was to be extended; he sent the first munitions of war and supplies which the colonists received from abroad and he sent them too, at a time when, humanly speaking, it was reasonably certain that without such aid from some quarter, the colonists must have reasonably succumbed.

Nonetheless poor Figaro did not get paid for the millions he expended nor for the services he rendered; indeed it was not till thirty years after his death and fifty years after the Declaration of Independence that his daughter and grandson made the long and severe journey (in those days) to Washington and extracted from an unwilling Congress a tenth of the sum due.

The American historian James Breck Perkins wrote:

> It is sad to reflect that almost everyone who attempted business relations with our country at the time of the Revolution, ended in bankruptcy.

For Beaumarchais was not the only Frenchman so treated. Le Ray de Chaumont, owner of the Hotel de Valentinois, which he lent to Franklin free of charge for use as the headquarters of the American commissioners at Passy, also took an active part in supplying the insurgent colonists, with results scarcely more rewarding than the efforts of Beaumarchais. Indeed, perhaps even less so; for while the latter's descendants did eventually obtain at least a fraction of the money due, Chaumont's son, who also made the journey to America and remained there for some years, was completely unable to extract any of the money owing to his father, and finally abandoned his attempts in despair.

Thomas Paine, the author of *Commonsense* and the Godfather of the American nation, was given by a similar Congress a sort of

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pauper's funeral. Only six people were there. A Quaker watchmaker, a French woman, Madame Bonneville and her two sons. There were also two Negro men who rode on the wagon to dig the grave and lift the coffin. Not one person of distinction took time to pay his respects, to stand over the grave with uncovered heads or to say a few words at the funeral service. Tom Paine at the time of his funeral was disfranchised by the nation he had done almost as much as Washington to create. Nations born of revolution usually immediately pay their obligations contracted to sympathisers when in exile or in prison. The Bolsheviks paid immediately on attaining power the funds they had raised in exile. The Irish immediately they were in power did the same and more recently the State of Israel has been most punctilious in settling all outstanding debts incurred during their fight for statehood. John Milton wrote that 'the child will show the father'; the United States in its maturity has been living up or down to its childhood. It is a record of rapacity towards its debtors and repudiation for its creditors.

In the nineteenth century State after State in America defaulted on its bonds; these were not commercial issues, they were loans offered for tender by sovereign States ostensibly for public works; even today the State of Michigan is in default. An ingenious economist after the 1914-18 war worked out that with interest, simple interest, mark you, not compound interest, the Americans owed its Allies in Europe more than the total so-called war debts. But what a rumpus Columbia kicks up when the drab thinks she is being bilked. 'They hired the money' snarls Coolidge the 'loan shark' when asked for forbearance by his French allies who had lost millions of lives in the 1914-18 war. One can almost see the shadow of Beaumarchais shuddering.

The stupor which British statesmen fall into when on the Potomac is deadening; only on the way home does the victim come out of his Lethelike trance. It is said that when Baldwin woke up two days out of New York he was so startled at the terms he agreed upon that he was frightened to cable Bonar Law the facts. When Bonar Law, a tough iron and steel broker accustomed to the Glasgow and Montreal metal markets, heard the facts, he exclaimed in an icy fury: 'You've lowered the standard of living for a generation here' and then paraphrasing Kipling 'If blood be the price of America, Oh God, we ha' paid in full'. This was especially galling for Baldwin because Kipling was his first cousin. Yankee millionaires had an odd fascination for Kipling, who lived among them for years and in

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his novel *Captains Courageous* showed this queer trait. Bonar Law was so angry that he threatened to resign and that would have meant the fall of the Tory Government; instead he died.

And so it continued even up to the great crash of 1929 and even during the long slump when *all* the banks in America closed and there were 25 millions out of work with no relief; yet the U.S.A. although broke seemed to dominate the British Treasury and Cabinet;* *e.g.*, unemployment cuts of 1931, etc.

It took the hilarious London Conference of 1933 to point the lesson. This Conference took place in the Geological Museum in Kensington; it was fitted up with a 70-ft. bar enjoying extra territorial rights; which means in plain English, no licensing hours and drinks from every nation and for every national.

The American mission was housed at Claridges Hotel, said by some to be a staid sort of hostelry. The Americans turned it into a wild west saloon. The Conference was about tariffs, the gold standard and managed currency, the kind of things so beloved by the Micawber-like bankers of the thirties; everybody double-crossing each other and the United States knifing the rest and indeed, often knifing themselves and literally so; for Senator Kay Pittman of Nevada pulled a bowie knife on a delegate suspected of being soft on silver and chased him down the hotel corridors almost into the arms of Queen Maud of Norway, who sighed for the trouble 'these people' had caused her direct ancestor George III.

Roosevelt shot a torpedo into the conference which nearly blew up the Geological Museum, with a telegram repudiating everybody and everything. It was not considered convenient to pay the U.S. Gold Notes so they were cavalierly set aside under the pretext that the state was in mortal danger. At the opulent entrance to Claridges, fisticuffs were exchanged between Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, and Raymond Moley, a kind of overseer sent by Roosevelt, just as Hull was getting into his car to spend the week-end with Lady Astor and the Cliveden set; but worse or better was to follow. At a Royal Garden Party the following week, King George V, an irascible old sea-dog (one of the few, let it be said, who was not impressed by the U.S.A., dynastically 'the shape of things to come') violently upbraided a prominent American republican, while Queen Mary shook her famous parasol at the unfortunate wife.

*British Official subservience to America was resisted by Sir Ben Smith, Minister of State for Supply in Washington, an ex-heavyweight boxing champion of the Royal Navy and organising Secretary of the Licenced Vehicles Workers' Union, an able and courageous man, who was recalled from Washington in 1945.

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Anyhow, whether effective or not, the scene was riotous enough for the United States Ambassador to complain; a kind of Boston Tea-party in reverse. The final irony of London was its one tangible achievement. Senator Kay Pittman of Nevada, whose sprees had shamed his own delegation and scandalised London, emerged in the end the single victor. When he sailed for America, he had in his pocket, signed and ready for operation, an international agreement on silver. It was at this time that the London property dealers got American business in perspective. The late Howard Samuel used to tell with glee of his interview with the Manager (a Vice-President) of the Bank of America,* previously the Bank of California who wanted a West End office. Samuel asked who was to guarantee the covenant. The irked clean-cut Vice-President pointed out that the Bank of America was the biggest bank in the world. Samuel replied, 'Yes, but it closed once'. 'But we were the first to re-open' said the Vice-President. 'Ah, but you closed' jeered Samuel, visions of voids in his head; and it is a fact that since then any covenant of any size by any American firm must be guaranteed by an English bank, or more often an insurance company, *e.g.*, all the new American hotel ground rents are guaranteed by either Pearl, Legal and General, or Guardian; in fact the American tenants become kind of managers for the City and the great landlords: munificently paid, it is true, but bond-posting nonetheless!

Now a century and a half later, with two world-wars, revolutions, slumps galore, the picture, mutatis mutandis, is the same. The huge interest rate charged by American bankers to her allies in both wars makes the present situation so sinister. The brutal breaking off of lease-lend, the substitution of Marshall aid with its restrictions and the American loan, a money-lender's dream!

The Americans are governed today by cash considerations because their situation is approaching the desperate. One cannot change dollars in Zürich at the official rate (tourist traveller cheques are dealt with normally) but should 10 million dollars be offered a considerable discount will be demanded; no wonder the arbitrage boys are doing well.

One facet is the Skybolt head-on collision and the pressure upon Great Britain to increase the B.A.O.R. thus relieving the Americans

*Giannini, founder of the Bank of America, when the Bank of California, used to ask immigrants, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, tomato growers and fishermen, not how many acres they had or how far the crop was advanced when these people applied for a loan, but how many children they had. If the solicitor replied 'four and, say one, in the oven', he got his loan, thus proving the Marxian theory of labour value because five people working on a collateral would get more out of it than two.

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of the cost of the G.I., who is paid about five times more than the Swaddy and whose coddlings call to mind the luxurious life of the Janissaries and the Praetorian Guard. The Skybolt has been over-represented as a Kennedy power hallucination. In *The Times,* January 11, 1963, Kennedy is quoted as saying: 'It seemed to us . . . we were better off to put our money elsewhere'. More regard should be paid to a Congress with its more than century-old desire for its dependents or allies or anybody else to carry the burden.

De Gaulle with his bitter war-time memories, especially the United States' refusal to hand over to him the gold in Vichy-controlled Martinique, is not so tractable. Maybe the General remembers Figaro and the poor hotelier of Passy.

Commentators appear surprised that the Bahamas was the venue for the recent meeting. Now in protocol the host country pays the bill. This is not to say that Kennedy would not buy Macmillan a Bourbon or even a Scotch, but the problem was whether Congress would pick up the tab and block the estimates had Columbia been the hostess, especially buying drinks for Limeys, who are always broke anyhow and asking for things, so why trouble to entertain them? So in the words of Seneca—*Tenacissimi sumus eorum quae pueri percipimus* 'We hold closely to what we perceive in childhood'. The young U.S.A. observed and grimly perceived. It has paid off.

CHINA: AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

Anna Louise Strong

A GOOD crop has been reaped this autumn on the North China plain, so at long last, grain is in fair supply in all areas. Honan and Shantung were the last bad spots; but summer rains brought good autumn crops, and similar good news comes from other parts of the country. The bonus of good weather in Honan is only the crown added to the steady advance of two years under the programme to aid agriculture. The early rice crop in Kwangtung was good for the second year, despite torrential rains that twice broke railway lines around Canton. The Peking area had its driest summer and early autumn in forty years, but still the vegetables and fruit flood the city's markets. This is the result not of good weather, but of the electric-driven pumping systems that today give China

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twenty times as much horsepower as in 1957. And these in turn are only one aspect of the work being done to make agriculture a sure foundation for China's next industrial advance.

Ironically, just at this time a French correspondent returning from Hong Kong tells how newsmen eager for 'China news' asked 'When are they going to collapse?' Averill Harriman told a Congressional committee: 'In 1959 China was going ahead so fast that I was gravely concerned. Since then China's food production failed and the communes collapsed'. Whether the reporters got their information from Harriman or vice versa, they will have to wait to cover the demise of China!

People living in China learn of farm gains by an increase in supplies; by a drop in prices in the 'free markets' where peasants sell surplus, and by steady additions to the ration (two big ducks or chickens were offered to every Peking family, outside the ration, for the National Day feast, October 1). This is the concrete evidence that convinces the people. Premier Chou En-lai declared that the 1962 crop is 'somewhat higher than that of 1961, which in turn, was higher than 1960' that 'the most difficult period is over' but that 'many difficulties remain' and for next year and perhaps many years the policy must still be 'to readjust industry to the technical transformation of agriculture' and to develop the national economy 'with agriculture as foundation and industry as leading factor' and 'continue to improve management, variety and quality of goods'.

This restrained programme may not seem exciting to people who in 1958 dreamed that crops would keep 'leaping' forward by huge percentages each year, with industry rising even faster. When Chou adds that 'the natural disasters for three consecutive years . . . and the mistakes in our own work have caused us difficulties', one wonders what 'mistakes' he means. Are the communes now considered a 'mistake'? Apparently not, for they are listed among the 'three red banners' for the nation's advance. Most people even say: 'The communes saved the country'.

Perhaps the big mistake from which many others grew was the over-estimation of the grain crop of 1958. The crop was terrific and nobody ever knew how big. Peasants who had formerly measured by buckets with an eye to taxes were guessing without scales or measures, with no danger of increased taxation and with desire to make a record. At the same time they were organising communes, 'putting all China on ball bearings' in three summer

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months by hand-hammering bearings from iron; driving on 60 million strong, to make steel and then, 70 million strong, to build reservoirs. In the midst of all this they 'estimated' that 1958 harvest, and then went off and left part of it in the fields. The important thing was not that China had 'lost face' by confused statistics. The real trouble was that the Chinese believed their figures and acted on them for a year, at all levels. Communes sold grain lavishly to the state and some later found they had not kept enough to eat. The state in turn was convinced that the 'Big Leap' and the communes were so magical that fewer peasants could henceforth produce more grain. So every province happily built industry, believing grain and raw materials would easily be obtained.

In this situation, steel production tripled in the three years 1957-59 from 5·35 million to 18·45 million. In the first two years, the 'Big Leap' raised gross industrial output by 115 per cent, though the plan had called for only 100 per cent in five years. To achieve this, tens of millions of peasants poured from the farms into the cities to work in new industries or study in newly-built technical schools. Then, in 1960, the worst natural disasters of the century struck the farms, and it became clear that agriculture could not feed this expanded city population with either grain for its workers or raw materials for its machines. Even without the disastrous weather, some readjustment was due. With every province and almost every county building steel mills, and even communes making synthetic rubber from sweet potatoes, central control was urgent. On March 30, 1960, the head of the State Planning Commission, reporting on the plan, noted that the output of industry was already three years ahead of schedule, and stressed the need of 'simultaneous development of agriculture' as the 'foundation' of the economy. He urged that industry 'turn attention to putting agriculture on a modern base'. One year of many natural disasters had shown the need for strengthening agriculture, but the worst disasters had not yet struck. Had the weather turned friendly, the adjustment of industry to agriculture would have been comparatively easy.

Some Western critics think China exaggerated or even 'fabricated' the natural disasters. On the contrary, China began by belittling them and stressing the power of man to overcome them, pointing out that some communes 'conquered' a flood or fought a 300-day drought with success. Reservoirs and irrigation systems dug by communes saved some communities from famine. But reservoirs last only as long as their sources, and when drought followed

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drought, the great Yellow River sank so low that for eight months children waded across it. This disclosed that the entire Yellow River system has not enough water for all the farms in its basin in a dry spell of several years. New sources must be found either underground by pumping or by syphoning water from the Yangtze to the North, a task beyond China's present strength.

The year 1960 was the worst: 60 per cent of all the cultivated land of China was hit by 'disasters, either drought, flood, hurricane, high winds or pests' and 40 per cent was 'seriously affected'. *The Times* on December 30, 1960, described the natural disasters as 'worse possibly than China has experienced for a century' and added that the 'succession of rainless days' on the northern plain was 'longer than that which led to China's last major famine in Honan in 1943, when . . . an estimated two million died'. Rewi Alley, who has watched China for 35 years as an engineer engaged in welfare said the blows dealt by nature in 1959-61 are rather to be compared with 1926-29 when drought in six north-west provinces brought an estimated 20 million deaths. This time, the strength of the nation was mobilised against the disasters. The Communist Party turned attention to the need for increased output of grain and Vice Premier Po I-po said that the tremendous leap in industrial production had 'won time' and that the two remaining years of the Second Five Year Plan should be devoted to the 'technical transformation of agriculture' and the expansion of light industry to meet daily needs.

Many plans for industry and for educational programmes were temporarily shelved for the fight for food. The nation-wide slogan became: 'No one shall starve!' There was great hardship in many areas, but no wholesale casualties such as followed disasters in China's past decades. For there was no abandonment of communities, no scattering of starving people to die along the roads.

The government phrase 'with agriculture as foundation and industry as leading factor' does not deny the importance of heavy industry, nor is it a temporary retreat. It affirms the relation between agriculture and industry. Heavy industry is the 'leading factor' in transforming China's ancient society and backward agriculture into a socialist society. It determines the way and form of change, whether this be tractors or nuclear power. But agriculture is always the foundation, which industry may remould but on which it must be built. If the foundation be shaky, industry cannot be built. This has always been recognised in China. In the first five years of the republic the major investment was in irrigation for

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agriculture; then, when crops seemed sufficient, China turned to build heavy industry. But when disasters struck it was found that all the irrigation provided was not enough and the farms could not feed the industries. So most capital construction was halted except for the needs of agriculture, and industrial production either 'cut back' or adjusted to agriculture's needs. And millions of peasants were told: 'You had better go back home and grow grain'. This was not a popular move. Retrenchment never is. Nobody was compelled to go, except as the ending of a job compels.

Meanwhile, production of all kinds of goods for agriculture has been stepped up. Besides the tremendous increase in pumps for irrigation, four new tractor plants are being built. A second marked change is the growth in variety and quality. Though total steel output is reduced, China produces about 10,000 kinds of rolled steel; while some coal mines have closed, others are being converted to modern hydraulic methods. Not all reservoirs have power plants, but China has designed and built some with capacities of several hundred thousand kilowatts. Thus, even in a period of cut backs, China presses ahead technologically, until a sure foundation in agriculture will provide the base for another great advance.

Governor Shao of Kiangsi said: '"Man's will, not heaven, decides" was a fine slogan in 1958. We still believe it. But until we create much more mechanisation, "heaven" has still a word to say about our crops'. The governor had done a lot in Kiangsi to make 'man's will' prevail. But he knew that many old walls remain in China that will break under pressure, and that not all rivers are yet tamed. He also knew the forces that will conquer them. The 'Big Leap' that began in 1958 transformed China—and not only because it nearly tripled in three years the output of industry and of steel. Its greatest achievement was that it awoke to life a new type of peasant, conscious of his power to bend nature to his will. The process proved more complex than the peasant thought at first. But nobody who lived through that 'Big Leap' forgets it. And many say 'The greatest thing we learned was the power that lies in the Chinese people. We also learned the need of clearer plans'. A friend said to me 'The "Big Leap" is a process and we are in it still. It is a way of advancing by great drives of the people. After each drive there may be pauses for adjustment and filling in but we think that, taken over 10, 20 or 30 years, China's progress will be perhaps the biggest leap the world has known.

(*Abridged from* THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN)

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ISRAELI SOCIALISM?

Eliezer Feiler*

OFFICIAL Israeli propaganda, theorists of the Zionist-socialist parties in Israel, champions of 'democratic socialism' all over the Western world, and even a number of well-meaning people from the new states in Africa and Asia, all have much to say about what they term 'Israeli Socialism'. It is time to deal more thoroughly with this aspect of Israeli life and provide a sober and realistic evaluation from a scientific working-class standpoint.

Let me begin with a typical quotation, making clear what the Zionist-socialist theorists claim. P. Lavon, then Histadrut† General Secretary said:

> There remains the basic fact that in Israel—and in Israel alone out of the entire world—a society was established whose economy belongs in its overwhelming majority to free working people. If the term socialist economy has a meaning, then we have come nearer than any other state in the world to the advancement of the real content of this term.
>
> (*Davar*, April 9, 1959.)

According to this view, the Kibbutz—the Israeli agricultural collective farm—is the supreme creation of this socialist economy. Thus, one of the more 'left' leaders of Israeli Zionist-socialist reformism, A. Ben-Aharon of the Achdut-Ha'avoda party, said:

> we have established an important nucleus for the achievement of a socialist society—the Kibbutz.
>
> (*Davar*, December 11, 1957.)

It is instructive to note that more sober-minded people of the same circles, notably economists and sociologists, have recently come to somewhat different conclusions. Professor H. Halperin, director of the Agricultural State Bank, himself a prominent member of the ruling party, wrote in 1961:

> The Kibbutz as such is in danger. Notice that at the beginning of the century we had in this country a co-operative *movement*, but now such a movement no longer in fact exists. We have co-operatives with imposing institutions; but a movement we have not got . . . We are engaged in exporting co-operative principles, but we ourselves possess no such movement. And what is more, signs of degeneration are beginning to appear in the existing co-operatives . . . and this causes serious concern. The lack of a movement threatens to impair our most important creation, the apple of co-operation's eye—the Kibbutz.
>
> (*Davar*, September 19, 1961.)

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†The federation of Israeli trade unions.

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This statement is proof that there are people even within the reformist camp who realise that there is a discrepancy between their theory and real life. It is difficult within the scope of a short article to deal in detail with every feature of so-called 'Israeli socialism', so I shall touch only briefly on the State and Histadrut enterprises.

S. Mikunis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, giving a report to the 14th Congress of the Party, dealt with the argument that the extent of the State sector in economy was proof that Israel is socialist:

> If we adopt these 'theories' advanced by the leaders of Mapai* among other things we should have to conclude that the social order and economy of the neo-nazi West German state of Adenauer and Globke are 'mainly socialist'. After all, there the state-controlled part of the national economy, at least as far as industry is concerned, is more extensive than that in Israel.

Regarding the Histadrut sector the report pointed out

> Foreign monopoly capital has also designs on the economic enterprises of the Histadrut. These enterprises . . . began as producer, consumer, contracting and credit co-operatives; in the course of time, however, they became typical capitalist enterprises, owned jointly by 'Hevrat Ovdim' (the Histadrut holding company) and by foreign and Israeli capitalists. The U.S. Ampal Corporation is one of the principal channels through which investments and loans are transferred by American capitalists to Histadrut-owned enterprises (250 million dollars between 1948 and 1959). Recently, West German capital, too, has been penetrating these enterprises.

Mikunis quoted the Hamburg paper *Die Welt* which on September 12, 1959, wrote that the 'atmosphere in Israel is favourable to foreign investment, due to the fact that the Histadrut is a big employer of labour . . . and is not fettered by Marxist doctrine'. He remarked: 'As we see, the Ben Gurion government and the Histadrut have won the admiration of international monopoly capital'.

When we turn to investigate the facts in more detail, the essential class character and the trends of development in the Israeli Kibbutz movement, I feel it is necessary to stress once again that we in no way deny that a valuable part can be played by co-operative organisation of agricultural production and producers, even in conditions of capitalist society. While always remembering Lenin's definition that, under capitalism, co-operatives are bound to be 'co-operative capitalist institutions', we at the same time value the Israeli agricultural producers collectives (the Kibbutzim) for their efficient and

*The right-wing Social Democratic Party, at present in power.

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original form of organisation, for their high level of management and agrotechnics. But with all due respect to the members of the Kibbutzim for their devoted toil, for their principles of communal life and of physical labour, we cannot forget that they exist and produce in conditions of capitalist society, subject to its laws.

We therefore deny categorically that they are 'islands of socialism' quite independent of their environment. On the contrary, the Israeli Kibbutzim, numbering about 230 settlements and comprising about 18,500 families, are producers' co-operatives of workers who are collectively exploited by big capital.

Here is some evidence: The first Kibbutz (*Degania*) was founded fifty years ago; most of its younger members joined it after the First World War; but figures show that they are still very deeply in debt, that they are still not the real owners of their farms and are paying immense sums of interest. If anyone argues that this is normal, and that the farms have not yet achieved economic independence, he is painting too rosy a picture and falsifying the facts. The following table, taken from a report on *The Situation of Israeli Agriculture* published by the official Horovitz-Commission in 1960, is striking: *

Year	*Total Capital Invested in all Kibbutzim (in millions)*	*Capital belonging to the Kibbutzim (in millions)*	*% of total*
1952	73·9	4·8	6·5
1954	138·8	6·9	4·9
1956	249·7	10·0	4·0

This means that 96 per cent of the whole property of all the Kibbutzim, does not belong to them; and that the percentage of their own capital far from increasing, is actually decreasing. Of course some people may argue that this is the average since the formation of new Kibbutzim distorts the general picture. But here are some figures for 113 long-established Kibbutzim only: Their overall debt *increased* from I£122 million in 1955 to I£269 million in 1960 (figures cited by Sh. Rosen, general secretary of the Hakibbutz Haarzi movement). Taking the interest paid on loans by all the Kibbutzim, you find that in 1954 the I£6 million to be paid for interest could be taken from the sum of I£11·7 million of gross profit, in 1957 the 17 million to be paid already absorbed all the gross profit which in that year only amounted to 17 million. Now the situation is worse. A working family in the Kibbutz has to pay yearly an average of I£1,200 interest.

*Figures throughout are given in Israeli pounds, denoted I£.

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> At present, interest represents an average of 12 per cent of production costs in Israeli agriculture. There are even cases where the average is 24 per cent . . . This is an excessively high interest rate, which is scarcely equalled anywhere in the world.
>
> (Professor H. Halperin, *Davar*, May 4, 1962.)

What made the Israeli collectives fall into such ever-increasing enslavement to big capital and usurers? The iron laws of capitalist economy apply to all producers—whether private or co-operative. The drive of capital for maximum profit; the need for working farmers to compete with the dumping of food surplus from the U.S.A.; the continuous rise in methods of production (machines, fuel, fertilisers, water, selected seeds, etc.); all this compels the Israeli farmers, whether smallholders or members of co-operatives, to invest more and more and to increase the organic composition of capital. This means in consequence that they must get ever more entangled with the big capitalist corporations, be they open financial trusts, or disguised as 'National' or 'Histadrut' institutions.

These economic developments, which show themselves among other things in severe crises of overproduction of agricultural commodities for the home market, have also very serious social repercussions for the Kibbutz movement.

Since finance capital in agriculture striving for maximum profit, is interested mainly in monocultural crops for export (oranges, peanuts) or raw materials for local industry (sugar-beets, cotton-fibre, oil-kernels), it comes into conflict with the established practice of intensive mixed-farming usual in the Kibbutz economy. The Kibbutz settlements are reluctant to switch over to farming methods which demand a huge number of farmhands during the limited harvest season; mixed farming provides steady employment for the Kibbutz member all the year round. In their efforts to break up these Kibbutz farming methods and force methods suitable for monoculture production upon them, monopoly capital is actively assisted by the Israeli government, which by administration and taxation encourages wholesale slaughtering of dairy cattle, laying hens and so on. Thus the way is paved for introducing wage-labour from outside into these 'islands of socialism' and the exploitation of one toiler (the labourer) by another (the Kibbutz member).

It is only natural that the pressure of the immense debt burden, as well as the appearance within the Kibbutz of employer-wage earner relations, bring about a crisis in the traditional Kibbutz ideology and society. People who have been taught ever since

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childhood and told for years that they are building socialism, or even that they have attained the final stage of communism, suddenly realise that they are exploited, or that they themselves are bound to become exploiters; and they fall into despair, nihilism and degeneration. There are signs of complete loss of perspective; hundreds of families leaving their Kibbutz settlements for good. There are symptoms of social differentiation between the Kibbutzim, and even within the closed society of each Kibbutz. Pages could be filled with quotations from statements made, articles written and discussions by Kibbutz members who feel that the ideological ground is vanishing from beneath their feet. It is, therefore, obvious that the Kibbutz as a form of social life and form of organisation of agricultural production, is a shrinking phenomenon. In 1948 the Kibbutz membership was 6·5 per cent of Israel's total population, and 51·6 per cent of the rural inhabitants: by 1958 it had been halved, dropping to 3·9 per cent and 24·2 per cent respectively. Since then it has certainly fallen further.

But there is not only despair and acceptance that capitalist development is inevitable. More and more Kibbutz members themselves begin to understand that only struggle can save their many modern and efficient collective villages. Discontent with the actual development and ruling agricultural policy, as with credit and monetary tie-ups are voiced on an ever wider scale at meetings of organisations of the agricultural collectives and co-operatives. Of course not all criticism is principled, not many arguments are Marxist, the ways of struggle proposed are not very class conscious; but things are moving. But the same change in outlook will come about among this section of the Israeli working population as are beginning among the industrial working class. The members of the Kibbutz movement will have to realise that as exploited toilers—like all toilers under capitalism—they must abandon the illusion of having set up 'socialist nuclei'; they must understand that their collective farms cannot develop and flourish in capitalist conditions which prevail in Israel; that only by joining in conscious class struggle in fraternal unity with the wage labourers can they save the way of life they have created from degeneration and loss of every progressive social features.

CORRECTION: The correct sterling price of *The Weapons Acquisition Process* (Bailey Bros. and Swinsen Ltd.) is 85s.

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LORD AVON'S WARNING

Andrew Rothstein

THE volume of memoirs recently published by Lord Avon (Anthony Eden) covers most of the period during which British Conservative Governments helped Hitler and Mussolini in their successive aggressions. As he writes himself in his foreword, he was a Minister at the Foreign Office from 1931 until February, 1938, and therefore was in 'direct contact with the personalities then shaping world policy'. One may say at once that his book,* both by its revelations and by its omissions, draws once more a well-known picture, but sharpens the principal features by valuable inside information.

Particularly outstanding is the record of how, whenever Eden's personal views or even tentative actions clashed with the settled determination of his party leaders to help the Fascist governments, the leaders (Baldwin, succeeded by Neville Chamberlain) went ahead and he knuckled under. In March, 1935, after interviews with Hitler, and on his way to Moscow to discuss the worsening European situation, Eden cabled a warning to London not to 'encourage her (Germany) in her blackmail', and urged a joint statement by the Great Powers making this clear—but the Cabinet 'took a different course' (p. 143). Later that year he suggested that a meeting of the British and French Prime Ministers with Mussolini should be used to 'confront' him with his obvious preparations for invading Ethiopia—but 'the subject was not raised at all' (p. 179); and when he proposed that, in private talks at Geneva about the now imminent Italian attack, he should declare the Government's readiness to fulfil their obligations under the League Covenant, his colleagues 'did not accept my recommendations' (p. 244). He says he favoured stopping oil supplies to Italy in December, 1935, which would have compelled Mussolini to negotiate and presented 'a salutary warning to Hitler'— but the Government would not 'run the risks' (pp. 295-7). By January, 1937, the Italian and German invasion of the Spanish Republic with large regular forces, brazenly passed off as the sending of 'volunteers' to help the Franco rebellion —which documents have long shown the Italian and German leaders took part in preparing, months before it began in July, 1936 —was in full swing. Eden sent a memorandum to the Cabinet

*The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Avon. *The Eden Memoirs. Facing the Dictators.* Cassell, 1962. pp. 660. 42s.

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saying that the Nazi adventure was becoming 'a menace to the peace of the world': and advocated using the British Navy to exclude war material and 'volunteers' from Spanish ports. But 'I was unable to convince my colleagues' (pp. 433-6). In November, 1937, Lord Halifax, then Lord Privy Seal, was invited to visit Hitler. Eden realised that this was calculated to create the impression of British support for Hitler in his acts of brigandage; and urged that Halifax should discourage German intervention in Austria and Czechoslovakia. Instead (as British and German diplomatic documents show) Halifax used language to Hitler which could only encourage attacks on both countries (pp. 508-516).

These are but a few examples. The volume abounds with others, showing that the ruling Tory clique was determined to shut its eyes to all Hitler's and Mussolini's villainies, provided a working arrangement with them not to touch western Europe could be reached. Even a very cautious and tentative proposal by President Roosevelt in January, 1938—to address foreign diplomats in Washington on the desperate need to recognise 'essential principles in the conduct of international relations'—was rejected out of hand by Neville Chamberlain, because it might 'greatly irritate Hitler and Mussolini' (pp. 548-560). It is interesting to learn that Britain's own Pentagon, the Chiefs of Staff, a couple of weeks later circulated a memorandum objecting even to discussions with the French and Belgian Staffs about mutual defence against Nazi Germany, because 'we should not appear to have both feet in the French camp' at a time when efforts were proceeding to reach agreement with Hitler (pp. 499-501).

Lord Avon throughout writes as though such a settled line of policy was due to the trustful blindness of the Tory leaders, to a wilful refusal to face facts about the aggressive policy of Hitler and Mussolini, to Chamberlain's doting confidence in the possibility of agreement with them to preserve world peace, and belief that to bring about such an agreement was his 'mission'. But such a version does not hold water. Chamberlain, like Baldwin before him: their close associates Simon, Hoare and Halifax: their intimate confidants Dawson, editor of *The Times*, Lord Lothian and Thomas Jones (a member of the Cabinet Secretariat from 1916 to 1930), could all read, and understood very well what was going on. They were well aware of the potential menace which reviving German finance-capital and militarism, Hitler's twin backers, represented for the British Empire. There was method in their madness, however. If there is one thing that stands out from their memoirs, diaries,

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biographies and other published papers, it is that they proceeded on one, would-be Machiavellian assumption—that Hitler could be induced by concessions to turn away from the west and attack the Soviet Union, as the common enemy of what they understood by 'civilisation': the capitalist system. One need go no farther than *The British Case*—the pamphlet written by the anti-Munichite Lord Lloyd of Dolobran, with a preface by his opponent, the Munichite Lord Halifax, Foreign Secretary, and circulated all over the world in 1939, once these sagacious policies had landed Europe in war—to see these calculations set out in black and white, with the furious Tory reproaches to Hitler for letting them down.

Can it be that Lord Avon had not noticed them, he who once, on Red Army Day (February 23), 1943, warned the British people that 'the bogy of Bolshevism' had been used before the war 'to frighten Europe' while Hitler conquered country after country? That is hard to accept. What makes it harder is that, on his own admission, he himself played some part in the game. He defended to the French—even if he took no part in negotiating—the perfidious British naval agreement with Hitler in June, 1935, which violated the Versailles Treaty by giving the Nazis the right to build up to 35 per cent of British tonnage (pp. 230-1), and which, by accepting German naval domination of the Baltic made nonsense of the friendly assurances Eden had given in Moscow in April (Lord Avon does not mention this aspect). Again, when Hitler violated the Treaty on his own (and the Locarno agreements of 1925 as well), by sending troops into the Rhineland in March, 1936, Eden played the principal part in restraining the French and Belgian Governments from replying with a threat of military action, as provided at Locarno (pp. 343-351). He omits to mention that the Soviet Union offered to join in such measures, if agreed by the League Council—and that most Tory M.P.s, as well as the Tory press, showed that hatred of the Soviet Union was the deciding factor in determining their opposition to any action against Hitler. When the Spanish Republic was attacked, Eden 'had no political sympathy with either side', he writes—overlooking his own declaration in Parliament on November 19, 1936, that 'other Governments', *i.e.*, the Soviet Union, were 'more to blame' for intervention than those of Germany and Italy—but goes on to say that from early 1937, 'if I had to choose, I would have preferred a (Spanish) Government victory' (p. 441). But this preference did not prevent him from continuing the pro-Franco policy of the Chamberlain Government for another twelve months,

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and thereby helping to ensure the defeat of the Spanish Republic.

There are other outstanding examples of his silence on the anti-Soviet purpose of the Baldwin and Chamberlain policies: on Chamberlain's notorious statement from 'an authoritative quarter' on April 11, 1935, for instance, which publicly told Hitler he was free to 'go east' provided security was assured in the west: or on the anti-Soviet, *i.e.*, pro-Fascist instructions given to Eden himself by Baldwin on July 26, 1936, on how to handle the Spanish war (revealed by Thomas Jones).

In short, Lord Avon was by no means as consistent in advocating resistance to the Fascist aggressors as he now wishes to appear. It would be of course awkward today, when he himself has rallied to the anti-Soviet cause he once condemned, to recall that this was the real and overall purpose of Tory policy in the 'thirties. For that might suggest to the thoughtful reader that present-day talk of a 'Soviet menace' and 'no more Munichs' is as insincere as the talk of a 'Communist menace' and 'no ideological blocs' was in the 'thirties. There was no Communist menace then, there is none today. But British Tory policy was *primarily* anti-Soviet then, under one disguise, and is *primarily* anti-Soviet today, under another: that is the root of the matter. Lord Home has obligingly reminded us in recent months of this continuity of hatred for the U.S.S.R., as the Tories' guiding thread in foreign policy. It helped to bring about the second world war in the 'thirties, and the sooner the British people expel Lord Home and his Cabinet associates from the seats of power, the less danger there will be of a third world war in the 'sixties.

Thus Lord Avon's memoirs are a new warning that the main enemy of the British people, of its peace, security and prosperity, is the Tory party—in 1963 as in 1933. This is not to deny the value of the work as a quarry of important facts. It is most useful, for example, to learn that when its author told Parliament, in October, 1937, that Britain 'will join no anti-Communist and no anti-Fascist bloc' the Prime Minister did not like it, 'and Lord Dunglass, his Parliamentary Private Secretary, commented to Jim Thomas (Eden's P.P.S.) that he feared the Prime Minister would be upset, as this speech would undo much of his conciliatory work, especially with Mussolini' (p. 508). The Lord Dunglass of 1937 is the Lord Home of 1963.

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BOOKS

Masters of Indecision

George K. Young

Methuen. 196 pp. 21s.

MR. YOUNG'S THEME is that the makers of policy in modern Britain are incapable of arriving at decisions. and that our society has become 'sterile, without an inner spirit, and clutching on to a decaying style'. In this he may not be wholly wrong, but he has no conception of the causes of the decay and thinks that the defects of society can be cured by improvements in the machinery of government; he reminds me of a man who thinks he can revive an utterly worn out engine by using a better lubricant. His lack of understanding can be gauged by some of the views he expresses. Nazism he regards as the result of a national neurosis; the Nazis had power placed in their hands 'by those who had lost the capacity for action'; and the strongest barrier against Nazism is the family. The South Africans (the whites) have done more than any other European group to help the African to his first freedom—from want; and there is nothing inherently immoral or sinful either about *apartheid* or *baaskap*. He finds it 'hard to see the immorality of the Suez intervention'. Anti-Semitism in pre-Hitler Germany was aggravated 'by the influx of Jews from the East'. And 'the Russians' have an 'underlying Slav peasant suspicion'. The book is indeed marked throughout by infinite cynical scepticism on many points and an uncritical acceptance of baseless propaganda stories on others.

D. N. PRITT.

The Fraud of 'Soviet Anti-Semitism'

Herbert Aptheker

New Century Pamphlet. 24 pp. 25 cents.

Jews in the U.S.A.

Paul Novick

New Century Pamphlet. 56 pp. 25 cents.

THE PROMINENT SOVIET SCIENTIST, Professor Lev Davidovici Landau, aged 52, a noted physicist, has been awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics, for his 'pioneering theories for condensed matter, especially liquid helium'. This news itself did not receive widespread attention in the British press. Much less was noted the fact that Professor Landau is a Soviet Jew, a product of Soviet society. Was this an oversight by the 'Students of Soviet Affairs', littering the desks of the *Guardian, The Times, Daily Telegraph,* etc.? Could not the 'Kremlinologists', who spends so much time in studying the names of criminals in the Soviet Union, in order to discover if there are any Jews amongst them, also have noted that Professor Lev Landau is a Jew? This episode emphasises the timeliness of Herbert Aptheker's pamphlet which deals with just this ugly treatment in the West of the Jews in the Soviet Union. Aptheker has brought together in this pamphlet many facts which show the conditions Jews enjoy in the Soviet Union —and also exposes the deliberate slanders and provocative activities of the so-called 'Kremlinologists'. He exposes 'the "special passport" hoax', the 'so-called "Quota System" ' and the 'No outstanding Jewish leaders' allegations. For example, he cites among many other prominent Jews. M. B. Mitin, chairman of the C.P.S.U. Department of Political and

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Scientific Education; N. Tsarapkin, Chief Soviet delegate at the Geneva Disarmament Conference; Savely Feinberg, Chief of the Theoretical Section at the Institute of Atomic Energy, etc.

Timely, too, is the appearance of the report made by Paul Novick, editor of the Yiddish American daily newspaper *Morning Freiheit*, on the paper's fortieth anniversary, in which he deals with the position of the Jews in the United States. This report shows that there are hundreds of thousands of Jewish workers still in the 'old' traditional trades like tailoring, shoe, food, etc., and in heavy industry. The conditions and struggles these workers contend with is illustrated by the fact that whereas years ago the needle trades' workers occupied the front rank in regard to wage earnings they now stand in the nineteenth place in New York.

A reading of these pamphlets will show the contrasts in the fortunes of the Jews of the two countries—with the advantages Socialism has to offer.

L. ZAIDMAN.

The Prevention of War

John Strachey

Macmillan & Co. 334 pp. 40s. (Paper 15s.)

THE PREVENTION OF WAR is the most urgent task now facing mankind. Nuclear warfare threatens extinction. So far we can agree with Mr. Strachey's thesis. But when he goes further, it is along the well-trodden road of the cold war. The West must be ready to meet Russian aggression. Nato must have thirty divisions instead of the present twenty, and short-range nuclear weapons.

What about disarmament? Not a hope, thinks Strachey. In fact, it's a mistake to talk about it. It would mean 'a world power-vacuum'. 'Somewhere, somehow, there will have to be a centre of power, wielded by somebody.' Only a world power, equipped with nuclear arms, can keep the peace. So after 300 pages of labour, Strachey produced the solution: since neither Russia nor the United States will give up nuclear arms, let them agree not to use them against each other, but to prevent other nations from having them. The prospect for the nineteen seventies, Strachey hopes, is that 'the nuclear super-powers arrange humanity's affairs amongst themselves (and no doubt to suit themselves) and for that purpose keep the rest of the world in order'. This is not peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems that Strachey has in mind. He says that nowadays there is a tendency for the capitalist and communist economic and social systems 'to approximate to each other'. Give them time, and they will become identical. Strachey, of course, has 'proved' in his last two books that capitalism has changed its nature, and that imperialism has ended. Now he 'proves' that communism has changed its nature. So we are all just classless world citizens: a classless world government, armed with nuclear weapons, will keep us at peace. This 'solution' shuts its eyes to real class forces. The pre-

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vention of war depends on the strength of the socialist states, the liberation movement, the working class and progressive forces. These fight for nuclear and general disarmament, not for the preservation of nuclear weapons 'to enforce the peace'.

EMILE BURNS.

Africa Today—and Tomorrow

John Hatch

Dennis Dobson. 344 pp. 30s.

THIS NEW VERSION of John Hatch's earlier work, *Everyman's Africa,* is some 80 pages longer, and contains much background material which is useful to the newcomer and at the same time handy for those who are more familiar with developments in Africa.

After a short and rather unsatisfactory historical chapter, the book then takes the reader region by region, and territory by territory, on a quick tour of Africa.

The final short chapter attempts to draw some general conclusions, and it is here, perhaps, that Mr. Hatch's views are most clearly expressed. It is not without interest to note that in his earlier version, Mr. Hatch ended with a similar chapter in which he openly spoke of the West ensuring that Africa is not 'lost to the democratic world', and stressing that 'The West must awaken to the fact that the character of a new continental society is at stake'. It is a sign of the times, that in his new book Mr. Hatch has abandoned his more open advocacy of measures to keep Africa 'with the West', and has donned the more fashionable garb of the 'two bloc' theoreticians, as a means of persuading the African people to isolate themselves from the socialist world.

But even so, the imperialist wolf still peeps out from behind the Social Democrat's sheepish garb. Mr. Hatch even claims that 'Most of the newly independent states would have been economically better off, in the short-term view (how long is 'short-term'?—J.W.) by remaining dependent on European imperial powers'; and further, that 'for a long time to come, Africans have to envisage much of the economic and financial control of their continent remaining in other countries'. That may be Mr. Hatch's view. Fortunately, the people of Africa have other ideas.

JACK WODDIS.

The Nature of Politics

J. D. B. Miller

Gerald Duckworth & Co. 296 pp. 30s

HERE IS A BOOK about the nature of politics, expressed in terms of contemporary events, movements and personalities, but from the first page to the last lacking any analysis of class, state and party. Professor Miller, who for five years has been lecturing at Leicester University, is unimpressed by the class struggle as a motive force of history. His observations lead him to the conclusion that political activity is a combination of qualities concerned with the 'expression, advocacy, settlement and modification of disagreements'. It is hard to conceive a thesis more likely to bewilder the young men and women, who before they go to sit at the Professor's feet read the latest about the U.S. blockade of Cuba or the Tories' declared intention to join in the Common Market, despite the opposition of a majority of the nation.

BILL CARRITT.

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Man and Evolution

John Lewis

Lawrence & Wishart. 150 pp. 12s. 6d.

JOHN LEWIS is well known for his well-informed and lucid accounts of aspects of Marxist philosophy, particularly in relation to the scientific outlook on sociological questions. In this book he begins with an up-to-date sketch of the biological basis of man's evolution. But the major part of the book goes on from there to show how evolution applies to the moral, social and intellectual capacities of human nature. In the course of it he deals with many questions of topical interest, such as the survival of the fittest, racism, wars, over-population, social progress, etc., giving a stimulating exposition of Marxist views in opposition to current reactionary theories.

CLEMENS DUTT.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

A CRITIQUE OF PLEBS MARXISM

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(From 'More British Marxism', *Labour Monthly*, February, 1923.)

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry. V. I. Lenin. Lawrence & Wishart. 410 pp. 6s.
Britain in the Sixties: Housing. Stanley Alderson. Penguin Books. 176 pp. 3s. 6d.
Historical Materialism. Maurice Cornforth. Lawrence & Wishart. 148 pp. 10s. 6d.
Studies of War. P. M. S. Blackett. Oliver & Boyd. 242 pp. 21s.
British Foreign Policy. F. S. Northedge. George Allen & Unwin. 342 pp. 38s.
Income Distribution and Social Change. Richard M. Titmuss. George Allen and Unwin. 240 pp. 25s.
The Cage. Thomas Hinde. Hodder & Stoughton. 222 pp. 16s.
Collected Poems. Arturo Giovanniti. E. Clemente & Sons, Chicago. 220 pp. $4.
Anatomy of Big Business. L. C. and F. W. Park. Progress Books, Canada. 272 pp. $2.75.
Aneurin Bevan. Vol. I. Michael Foot. Macgibbon & Kee Ltd. 536 pp. 45s.
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Technical Progress in the U.S.S.R. Edited by Y. Maksaryov. Central Books and Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. 238 pp. 3s. 6d.
Cause, Principle and Unity. Giordano Bruno. Background Books, Daimon Press. 178 pp. 10s. 6d.

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